

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 ACDA-12 CIAE-00 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 EB-08 NRC-07 OES-07 SOE-02 DODE-00
DOE-15 SS-15 SP-02 CEQ-01 PM-05 H-02 PA-02
ICA-20 /143 W
-----070442 111434Z /42

R 111211Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2710
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION USUN NY
USMISSION GENEVA

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USIAEA

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PARM, PEPR, FI
SUBJ: PRESIDENT KEKKONEN CALLS FOR NORDIC NUCLEAR FREE ZONE
NEGOTIATIONS

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT KEKKONEN'S PROPOSAL THAT THE
NORDIC COUNTRIES AND THE NUCLEAR POWERS NEGOTIATE A
TREATY TO EXCLUDE THE NORDIC AREA FROM NUCLEAR CONFLICT
IS PREDICTABLY BEING HAILED AS A SIGNIFICANT INITIATIVE
IN THE FINNISH MEDIA, WHICH NOTES HOWEVER THAT REACTION
ABROAD HAS NOT BEEN ENTHUSIASTIC. END SUMMARY.

2. SPEAKING IN STOCKHOLM MAY 8, FINLAND'S PRESIDENT
URHO KEKKONEN SUGGESTED THAT THE NUCLEAR WEAPON-FREE ZONE
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PROPOSAL THAT HE MADE IN MAY 1963 SHOULD BE USED
AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS
AMONG THE NORDIC COUNTRIES AND THE GREAT POWERS
THE OBJECTIVE OF SUCH NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH KEKKONEN
CALLED NECESSARY "AS THE DISARMAMENT TALKS DRAW OUT
AND DEVELOPMENTS IN MILITARY TECHNOLOGY ENHANCE
THE RISK OF NUCLEAR CONFLICT IN NORTHERN EUROPE",

WOULD BE ASSEPARATE TREATY ISOLATING THE NORDIC COUNTRIES FROM THE EFFECTS OF NUCLEAR STRATEGY IN GENERAL AND NEW NUCLEAR WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY IN PARTICULAR.

3. PRESIDENT KEKKONEN SAID THAT THE NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE MADE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE EXISTING SECURITY POLICY SOLUTIONS WITHIN EACH NORDIC COUNTRY. HE SAID THAT THE LEADING POWERS SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AT AN EARLY STAGE BUT THAT THE INITIATIVE FOR NEGOTIATIONS MUST COME FROM THE NORDIC STATES. KEKKONEN DESCRIBED A KEY ELEMENT OF HIS PROPOSAL AS "NEGATIVE SECURITY GUARANTEES" ACCORDING TO WHICH SMALL STATES COMMIT THEMSELVES NOT TO ACQUIRE OR STATION CERTAIN TYPES OF WEAPONS IN THEIR TERRITORIES IN EXCHANGE FOR AN ASSURANCE THAT THE WEAPONS IN QUESTION WILL NOT BE TURNED AGAINST THEM AND THAT THEY WILL NOT BE THREATENED WITH SUCH WEAPONS.

4. IN ARGUING THE NEED FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS HE PROPOSED, KEKKONEN CITED THE NEUTRON BOMB AS AN EXAMPLE OF MILITARY-TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE WHICH HAS "OVERTAKEN THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL DETENTE" AND RESULTED IN AN ARMS BUILD-UP WHICH MUST BE BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL WITHOUT DELAY. HE POINTED UNCLASSIFIED

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OUT THAT DESPITE THE CONCENTRATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE, THE MANY FORA FOR DISARMAMENT TALKS DO NOT INCLUDE ONE WHICH WOULD BOTH SPECIFICALLY DEAL WITH EUROPE AND PERMIT THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED. HE APPEARED TO DISMISS THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS AS "DISHEARTENING".

5. AS A FINAL ARGUMENT, KEKKONEN SAID THAT DEVELOPMENT OF THE CRUISE MISSILE INTRODUCES NEW UNCERTAINTIES INTO THE NORDIC SECURITY SITUATION BECAUSE IT MAY MAKE THE USE OF THIRD-COUNTRY AND NEUTRAL AIRSPACE A ROUTINE MATTER. ALTHOUGH HE SAID HE "CONSIDERS THEORIES OF LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR LUNATIC", HE EXPRESSED CONCERN AT THE IMPLICATIONS OF A "EUROPEANIZED" NUCLEAR WAR FOR NEUTRAL NORDIC COUNTRIES WHICH MIGHT BE FACED WITH "GREAT-POWER MISSILES FLYING OVER THEIR AIRSPACE AT ALTITUDES OF A FEW-HUNDRED METERS".

6. WITHIN FINLAND, PRESIDENT KEKKONEN'S STOCKHOLM SPEECH HAS BEEN HAILED, NOT UNPREDICTABLY, AS A WELCOME AND SIGNIFICANT INITIATIVE. SUPPORT FROM

MOST POLITICAL QUARTERS IS REFLECTED IN THE MEDIA, WHICH STRESSED THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE THAT THE NORDIC COUNTRIES CAN BENEFIT FROM DISCUSSING THE ISSUE DESPITE THEIR DIFFERING SECURITY POLICIES. CONSERVATIVE UUSI SUOMI THOUGHT THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE UNLIKELY TO PRODUCE QUICK RESULTS BUT CREDITED HIM WITH "AROUSING THE STATIC SCANDINAVIAN COMMUNITY OF NATIONS FROM ITS COMPLACENCY" BY REPEATING A SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL WITH MANY GOOD SIDES. SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ORGAN DEMARI CALLED ATTENTION TO THE IMPORTANCE OF OBTAINING NEGATIVE SECURITY GUARANTEES, WHICH IT SAID THE SOVIET UNION IS IN PRINCIPLE READY TO PROVIDE.

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7. COMMENT: AS THE MEDIA HAS ACKNOWLEDGED IN REPORTING A COOL TO LUKEWARM REACTION FROM OTHER NORDIC COUNTRIES, PRESIDENT KEKKONEN'S PROPOSAL LEFT SOME KEY QUESTIONS UNANSWERED. HE DID NOT, FOR EXAMPLE, ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF SOVIET NUCLEAR SUBMARINES DEPLOYED IN THE BALTIC, REPORTEDLY ALLUDED TO BY FOREIGN MINISTER SODER IN HER RESPONSE TO THE

PROPOSAL. NOR DID HE APPEAR TO ANSWER LONG-STANDING
ARGUMENTS AGAINST HIS 1963 PROPOSAL TO BAN NUCLEAR
WEAPONS FROM THE NORDIC COUNTRIES WITHOUT CONCERN
FOR SIMILAR WEAPONS NEARBY IN THE USSR, AND HIS
SPEECH ITEMIZED SEVERAL WESTERN WEAPONS WITHOUT
DISCUSSING THE WARSAW PACT ARSENAL. IN PREPARING
FURTHER ANALYSIS OF THE KEKKONEN PROPOSAL, THE
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EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE REPORTS OF OTHER NORDIC
REACTION BOTH TO THE REFLOATING OF THE NUCLEAR-FREE
ZONE CONCEPT AND TO THE IDEA OF NORDIC NEGOTIATIONS
ON THE SUBJECT.
RIDGWAY

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENTS, MEETINGS, NUCLEAR FREE ZONES, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 may 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 jan 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978HELSIN01457
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780200-0419
Format: TEL
From: HELSINKI USIAEA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780570/aaaachlk.tel
Line Count: 188
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 342c8ea0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15 mar 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2726018
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESIDENT KEKKONEN CALLS FOR NORDIC NUCLEAR FREE ZONE NEGOTIATIONS
TAGS: PARM, PEPR, FI
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/342c8ea0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014